1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



more personal aspects particularly is frowned upon by elders in open but tacitly approved in fact. In contact with white people the Pukapukans always speak and act as if they heartily believed and followed the missionary code. It took us many months to persuade them that we did not care to pass judgment upon what they thought and did but that what really interested us was to find out what these acts and thoughts were. As informants gained confidence in us, they dropped their usual attitude of "being on their best behavior" when we were present and were much more natural and free. This attitude of confidence was sufficient for us to gain insight into some of the more implicit phases of Pukapukan life, but even at the end of our stay we were baffled in our attempts to penetrate far below the surface. The cultural veneer of mid-Victorian morality is sufficiently deep to withstand any penetration save that based on long years of patient probing.

White contact has affected least of all the economic life and the manufacture of native articles. Though many Pukapukans today live in coral lime houses in the permanent villages, native houses still predominate, especially in the copra-making villages. The people wear European clothes; the women wear dresses, the men trousers and, when not working, shirts as well. The use of native clothing had almost disappeared by 1934. Because there has been little money available to buy fresh clothes some women now eke out the life of old rags by wearing coconut-leaf kilts over these during working hours. Boys under 12 or 13 years of age go naked for the most part, reserving pants and shirts for school and church wear. Girls wear dresses from the tenderest age onward. Presumably this tendency would be reversed if the first missionaries had been women.

Every household is supplied with knives, usually a cooking pot, tins as drinking utensils, and mosquito nets. Fishermen commonly use iron fishhooks but they still largely retain the use of native fishlines. Native plank canoes, lashed with sennit, are in common use, the several flat-bottomed European boats being used only for transport of copra and cargo over the reef. Beyond these obvious changes, economic life functions today largely according to old patterns. The few items that could not be made for the Bishop Museum collection consisted mainly of plaited garments apparently infrequently worn in the old days.

## LIMITATIONS OF MATERIAL

Data on the more personal and implicit aspects of the culture were obtained from special informants with whom we had built up a confidential friendship, usually without the medium of an interpreter. The material on formal social life, save where it relates to the old-time governing authorities, to the powers of the chiefs and elders, or to the general tapus surrounding the chiefs, is reasonably reliable. Questioning of informants has been sup-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



526 922 The wood is heated over a fire and the green bark peeled from it. The shaft is rubbed (*waiawaia*) smooth between two pieces of coconut shell and given a deep brown color by hanging in the rafters of a cook house above the smoke of cooking fires. Alternately the shaft may be decorated with spiral lines by stripping the bark from the shaft in a spiral about 1 inch wide running from butt to head and then hung over a cooking fire for some days, after which the remainder of the bark is peeled off leaving the shaft with a spiral of dark brown running down the length. A dart decorated in this way is termed *velo fafa*.

411 Darts are used as sporting equipment today. Some informants suggested that *velo* with sharply pointed heads might also have been used as weapons.

a b

534 284 FIGURE 30.—Gong and drum. *a*, wooden slit gong (C8111): diameter from slot to bottom 3¼ inches; cross section diameter 3½ by 4 inches; length of gong 17¼ inches; slot opening, 12 inches long, 1 inch wide; beating stick (C8212) 10 inches long, ¾ inch diameter. A second gong (C8054) is smaller: diameter from slot to bottom 2 inches; cross diameters 3 inches by 2⅝ inches; length 16⅜ inches; slot opening 13 inches long, ¾ inch wide; beating stick (C8055) 12⅛ inches long, ¾ inch diameter. The wood from which gongs are made is *uetau*, that of beaters *ngangie*. Bottom surfaces of both gongs slightly convex. *b*, shark-skin covered drum (*puyu*) (C8201): drum 2 feet 9¼ inches high, 10 inches top diameter, 9 inches bottom diameter, cut from solid block of coconut wood; inside top of drum hollowed out and an edge ⅛ inch wide and 2 inches deep cut around outside of top: 1, shark-skin cover (*soata hili mango*) laid on top of drum and circumference of skin folded over circular wooden binder (*tua kauwala*) of pandanus wood (2); skin shown cut away (3) to indicate wooden binder (9) beneath; 4, second wooden binder seized with three-ply sennit, placed on top of skin folded over first binder and pulled tight by three-ply sennit cord which starts as free end of seizing to second binder, passes down (4) around (5) one of legs (*vae*) and up again to second binder, under and over it and down again to second leg; lashing continues until second binder is held by cord passing around each leg; free end of lashing cord passes up from last leg and then around circumference of drum (6), making transverse turn around each oblique lashing; circumferential lashing finished off with overhand knots around last oblique lashing (7). The shark skin for this drum was cut too small and the turned-up circumference has been caught around first binder (2) with sewing of cotton thread. An alternate method of lashing skin to drum is to pass sennit lashing directly through holes in circumference of skin, passing lashing around legs as before; this method obviates the rather clumsy use of two circular wooden binders.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



533 kerosene tin is also employed to increase the volume of sound for these
534 dances. The wooden gong has been taken over by the church and is used to sound the time for family prayers and curfew each day.

## WEAPONS

411 All Pukapukan weapons were made of wood. They consisted of two
531 types of spear, a heavy throwing stick and a long billet club. Bow and arrow, and shield were unknown.

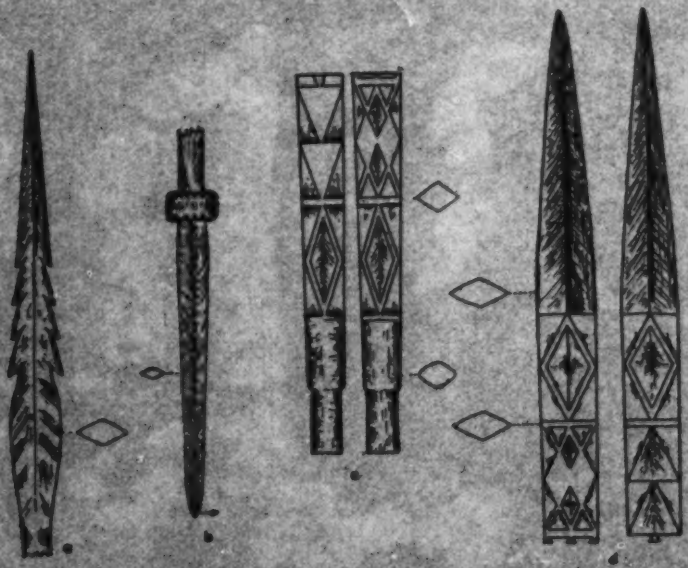

FIGURE 51.—Wooden spears. *a*, point of common wood spear (*ao*) (CB109); sharp point with sharp lateral edges, blunt medial edges; barb commences 11¾ inches from point; barb ridges merge into handle of spear which has diameter of about 1¾ inches. *b*, elliptical guard, 17 inches from butt of spear, has greatest diameter of 2¾ inches, least diameter of 1¼ inches; butt of spear sharply pointed; doubtful whether elliptical guard is constant feature of Pukapukan spears; weight of spear 6⅛ pounds, length 7 feet 10 inches. *c*, middle section of spear (*paulovale*) of *wakaaora* wood (CB066): cross section becomes round, continuing thus to butt of spear; carving designs consist of triangular spear heads (*wakatala*), single large lozenges (*paiohiole*), and combinations of both; each section separated from following by raised transverse bar. *d*, point section: sharpened with pronounced lateral and medial edges. Weight of spear 4¼ pounds, length 9 feet 7¼ inches.

This is only example known of Pukapukan carving on implements or weapons; though modern it is probably authentic.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans



411 Spears (*tao* and *yuvelovelo*; fig. 51) were both thrusting (*yoke*) and throwing (*velo*) weapons. When thrown they were always hurled by hand, a spear thrower being unknown. The heavy throwing stick (*koko*; fig. 52,*a*) was usually thrown at an opponent, the aim being to pierce a vital organ with its sharp point. At close quarters, it might also be gripped in the hand and used as a short stabbing weapon.

The favorite weapon seems to have been the long billet club (*koio*; fig. 52,*b*). This was often decorated with streamers of *hie* pandanus. It was dipped in salt water before use to ensure a non-slip handgrip. When on guard (*apeapo*), the weapon was grasped in both hands and held horizontal at the waist. The technical stroke with the club was to strike the ankles of the opponent with a sweeping side blow (*te kowa yolo*, the tying blow), fell him to earth, and then finish him off with heavy blows on the head. The *koio* club was also used as a parrying (*alai*) weapon to strike aside spears and throwing sticks flying through the air.

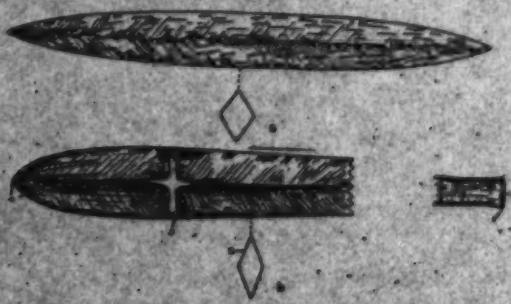

FIGURE 52.—Weapons. *a*, throwing stick (*koko*) of coconut wood (C8108): 57 inches long, width of each of four edges shown in cross section about 2 inches; each end sharply pointed; sharp lateral and medial longitudinal ridges; weight 3 pounds. A second *koko* (C8107) of same shape is also of coconut wood; 34 inches long, edges about 2½ inches wide, weighs 5 pounds. *b*, billet club (*koio*) of coconut wood (C8141): over-all length 6 feet 3¼ inches; proximal end (1) slightly flared, 1½ inches in diameter; round in cross section up to 2 feet 6 inches from end where four blunt edges, lateral and medial, start; width of each edge at cross section (2) about 2 inches; perceptible transverse ridge (3) intersects longitudinal ridges; four edges come to blunt point at distal end (4); weight 7 pounds. Second club (C3985) also of coconut wood: 4 feet 9⅛ inches long; diameter of proximal end about 2 inches, cross section edges of distal end about 2½ inches wide; pronounced lateral ridges, very blunt medial ridges, no transverse ridge; weight 10 pounds.

For good aim in the use of all four weapons, the skilled warrior was careful to gain a firm foothold before engaging his opponent (p. 398). Informants were unable to elaborate on the technical strokes employed in using the *koio* or other weapon.